1: Burrows--165
466, 533

(1947-48)

1-2
Woleaians
Ifalik

"German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house
Where the people are assembled,
And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon
And hunted men by night.
Nobody could sleep for fear of them.

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many--
They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

'Come along! Get into the raft!'
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.

The first mate takes them aboard."

1: Burrows--197-198 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 832, 533 Ifalik

"Another gap in the pattern is love magic. Lovemaking is perhaps the dominant [198] interest during the early years of maturity, and this interest is slow to wane. Throughout life, if only by reflection, it is one of the major interests. Study of sexual life was left to Spiro but this point was apparent even in casual observation and conversation. It is reflected, too, in song texts. The very name of the love song and accompanying dance (bwarux) is forbidden in mixed company, itself an indication that the subject is exciting. Yet love songs are the most numerous, and the most frequently heard of any kind of song. There is divination in the course of lovemaking, and it is mentioned in the songs. If there were any attempt to win love by magic, that would undoubtedly be mentioned too."

2: Damm et al. --94 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifaluk

The natives love songs. In addition to dance songs, there are others (gúli and walugulumále or gulumále), which are composed by women. They are love songs, in which the qualities of the swains are praised. Men do not know anything about composing. Shark and turtle songs, like the ones on Sorol, are not known.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 533 Woleai

A native from Wolea informed Hellwig that various lyrics had been quite new to him [LEM: in the spectacle on Utagal], and he went on explaining that new songs were constantly springing up and that just as many would be forgotten again due to the preference given to those tunes which were liked best, due also to the death of the composers in case they did not have any male relatives. Occasionally, one of the many old, forgotten songs was recalled and studied again; he himself [the Wolea man], like any other man, knew several songs since his days of youth, and these airs were studied anew, so that certain songs had a long life, though, frequently, they were not understood anymore since the acting persons and the basic events had become unknown.

4: Krämer--58-59 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533, 789 Lamotrek

I present here some poems in their original text although they are said to have come from Oleai; but Agupelior of the latter island was not familiar with them.

[ER: The songs are omitted here. Their subject matter includes the following:

1. Songs sung on fishing trips.
2 Song to drive away rain.
3. Song to drive a wind spout away.
4. Song against sharks.
5. Canoe song sung when passing a shoal.
6. Song sung when a boat starts out on a fishing trip.
7. Fish song.
8. Catching of the Bonito.
9. Bonito song.
10. Song about turmeric leaves. [59]

This is followed by a breadfruit prayer, the gatóketok ali mai which refers to the growth of breadfruit. At the time when the prayer is uttered crushed ongorik leaves are shaken up and scattered.

4: Krämer--102 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533, 396 Lamotrek

There are many canoe songs, because the principle is that everyone should invoke the gods' assistance in his own particular way in order that the canoe may turn out to be beautiful, luck may be with its passengers on their voyages, etc. In particular, every measuring line has its own song....

[ER: The native texts and translation are given for some of the canoe songs, but are omitted here.]

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Wolesians
116, 533 Lamotrek

[ER: The text of some of the songs sung on the occasion of the confinement of important women is given but is omitted here.]

4: Krämer--175 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533 Lamotrek

Music

No details are known about it.
Hellwig collected a flute, a tigetig, made of Yap bamboo, ait.

4: Krämer--262 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
533 Woleai

[ER: The words of some boat songs are given in the text, but they are omitted here. The songs are:

1. Song before the voyage. With or without storm magic (goselefei).
2. Canoe construction.
3. Song after the completion of the canoe.
4. Prayer for the coming voyage offered in order to catch a large number of fish. Request for great heat, because it brings many fish.
5. Song used on the occasion of angle fishing.]

4: Krämer--291 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
533 Woleai

[ER: The words of some songs are given in the original text, but are omitted here, pp. 291-294.]

[ER: No studies were made of the music of Oleai.

11: Born--189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 533, 535 Woleai

The development of art among the Oleaï natives is on a very low level. I saw no musical instruments of any kind. There is said to be a kind of jew's harp for children, consisting of a single string which is plucked to produce different notes.

The dancing songs of the natives here are, if possible, even more monotonous and lacking in melody than those of the Jap natives. The dances, baruk, are more rapid and lively. Here, too, clapping the hands and beating the thighs and armpits are the chief movements of the dance. In some dances the performers produce a peculiar sound by puffing out their cheeks and snapping their index fingers against them.

28: Spiro--37 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 533, 181, 571 Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--66 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 755, 868 Ifalik

"The chapeng chanted at the ceremony [WPM: see p. 65] was taught to Arogeligar by Tilitr, who in turn taught it to the people. The farewell chant was taught to Arogeligar by Aluelap. The vocabulary as well as construction is unusual, the people understanding very little of it, so that Tom had to ask Arogeligar to interpret the words to him, before he could translate them for me."

28: Spiro--77-78 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 831 Ifalik

"Songs are abundant. Dr. Burrows collected over two-hundred songs, which are of three kinds. The bwarux are the love songs, which formed the largest category. These are composed by the women and are traditionally sung by the women to their sweethearts as a prelude to love-making, while they perform a love-dance. They are also sung and danced, as we have already seen, during fishing expeditions. [78]

These songs, are quite candid in their treatment of sexual organs and processes and sexual practices, which stands in marked contrast to the customary avoidance of any sexual allusion in daily life."

28: Spiro--78
116, 533, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though composed by women to be sung at specified occasions, the men know the bwarux and sing them often. In the evening when the young men congregate in the canoe houses, one of the favorite activities is the singing of some bwarux, which affords them great amusement, and whose words elicit the same undercurrent of tittering that the corresponding activity evokes in our culture. Women too, sing bwarux when working together in the house or in the malum, that children, both boys and girls, are exposed to them at an early date."

28: Spiro--78 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifalik

"The aruaru is the second category of songs. This is a miscellaneous category that includes lamentations for the dead, songs of praise for good chiefs or skilled fishermen, shanties, fishing and construction songs, and others. These do not seem to be very popular as they are not sung as freely as the bwarux or the chapengapeng."

28: Spiro--78 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifalik

"The chapengapeng (usually shorten to chapeng), including all religious songs, whether they be the incantations for the ill, or the hymns sung at the medicine ceremonies. These are popular, for they are not only sung on the appropriate functional occasion, but like the bwarux, are sung by individuals sitting around their homes in the evening or in the canoe-houses.

The music to which these songs are sung is simple. The scale has only two notes, and there is rarely more than a half-note interval between notes. Furthermore, it seems that all songs in any of the three categories are sung quite similarly, that is there is no tune appropriate to any one song, but rather, all songs are improvised within the traditional two note scale, so that no song is ever sung twice identically."

28: Spiro--128 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 521, 533, 831, 562 Ifalik

"Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is completely taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, sitting about in the canoe houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. My informants were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout. As Aluelimar, the elderly informant put it: 'No can leave talk about women.'"

28: Spiro--128 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 177 Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--130 [3]
116, 831, 533, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with their candid sexual references, in the presence of boys of any age. There is no age 'discontinuity' at all. After having administered my TAT's I showed pictures of other primitives to a group of males, including all age groups, as well as the chiefs, and told them stories about them, involving ribald sexual humor, to test their reactions. All ages thought them very funny, laughing uproariously, none attempting to conceal their lively interest in the matter because of the presence of persons much older or younger than themselves."

28: Spiro--134-135 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
533 Ifalik

"That infidelity does occur, and that the people are disturbed by it, and become unhappy, is indicated by a number of songs [135] collected by Dr. Burrows, in which a woman laments the infidelity of her husband."

"19. This is shown in the songs collected by Dr. Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentation for their dead children or praise of them."

28: Spiro--137 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 763, 755, 533 Ifalik

"If a person is seriously ill, his relatives, both matrilineal and patrilineal, assemble in his home--or in the home in which he happens to be (1), for public wailing. They sing many chapeng, which are the religious songs, directed to the alus. When he is close to death, they sing a bwaruch--a love song--and, interestingly enough, with the same bodily movements that are normally employed. It is also interesting that this is the only time in which a bwarux is sung in the presence of both sexes. When he is dead, they sing a Garuaru le'zari, a lament for the loss of a child."

"1. We have already seen that if a person has a prolonged illness, he is moved from his own home to the home of another person, it being believed that the changing of his domicile will aid in his recovery."

28: Spiro--147 [7] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 517, 533, 123 Ifalik

"After dinner the young men rarely remain at home, but return again to the canoe-house, or in the case of a moonlit night to the beaches. Like the adults they talk about the events of the day, or of some projected plan, or just small talk. They often sing songs, mostly bwaruch, though chapengs are also sung. If I were with them, they were eager that I tell them of America or teach them some English. On a dark night they return to their homes at dark, but on a moonlit night they may fish from the beach, and often they would along the reef in their canoes.

The young women never leave their homes after dinner, except in the company of their parents, again the boys enjoying greater freedom than the girls."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--21-22 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 533 Woleai

During his first days on board. . . [LEM: Kadou's] curiosity was excessive. He wished to see all. Soon he regarded everything with indifference, becoming satiated with novelty, and finally he came to consider everything as possible. [22]

Kadou was gay, and he knew how to endear himself to the officers and the sailors. Often to us he sang all the songs that he knew. He was proud of having travelled so much. He particularly loved to sing a tune from the island of Eap, which greatly resembled another one from Radak. This tune has often rung from the summit of the snowy mountains of Ounalachka. Kadou sometimes spent hours repeating it and then the memory of his homeland and of his voyages moved him to tears.

Tune from the Carolines

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [522] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

casionally rose or dropped over a scale of about three notes. There, in the light of a fire that flared to brightness and sank down almost to darkness as fuel was added or used up, with a row of bare-breasted women singing the pleasant but monotonous dirge-like song, with slow, almost caressingly sensual movements of the hands and arms, Don was overcome again with a feeling of unreality, of the cultural gulf that separated him from them.

But again he thought, this is trivial. The only real barrier is language, and that can be overcome. It was, in fact, already lessening. Just that day, he had been able to explain to a man who brought a wooden bowl to the Fan Nap that Ted was asleep, to tell the man to come back later in the evening, and to ask him whether he wanted tobacco or money for the bowl, and how much. It was a great triumph in communication.

The gulf between California and Ifaluk could be bridged.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eli
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing